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**OUR SPECIAL JAMAICA COR-
RESPONDENCE.**

WE have received from our friend and late Special Correspondent in Jamaica, Mr. William Morgan, the subjoined highly interesting letter, written on his return to England. We shall of course publish his official report, as soon as it has been submitted to the Committee:

“Birmingham, 26th May 1866.

“I returned last week from my visit to Jamaica, and hope to have an early opportunity of making my report to the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, at whose instance the mission was undertaken. In the mean time, I am glad to forward you some facts in continuation of my personal narrative.

“When the Royal Commission closed its sittings, I had the pleasure of making a brief tour in the island, in company with my friend Mr. Horne Payne, one of the counsel for the Jamaica Committee. This tour gave us the opportunity of judging for ourselves as to many matters on which I had met with contradictory opinions; and we were also enabled to enjoy the glorious scenery of this queen of the Antilles, and to partake of the generous and graceful hospitality of its inhabitants.

“It was truly melancholy to see that an immense portion of the island is wholly uncultivated, although everywhere its wild and luxuriant vegetation gave us abundant proof of the capacity of the soil. Want of capital, want of labour, habits of indolence, excessive taxation, and, above all, want of a remunerative market for the productions of the country, are usually assigned as the causes for this state of

things. But I think we must look much more deeply into the matter if we would arrive at the whole truth.

“In the palmy days of Slavery, and under a system of protective duties in favour of our colonies, sugar cultivation in Jamaica was stimulated to the highest degree; and it would be most unreasonable to expect that the abolition of Slavery, and the adoption of a free-trade policy, should have no effect upon the proprietors of estates that were often forced to grow crops for which nature never adapted them. This is a consideration too often left out of sight, but which, to my mind, supplies an ample reason for our witnessing, as we did upon our tour, numberless estates which, one after another, have been utterly abandoned.

It is not easy to convey to our own countrymen a popular notion of the extent of this abandonment. More than half the large estates that were growing sugar and coffee in 1834 are now thrown up; but even that does not represent the whole case. Let the mind realize the following figures, and you will have some appreciation of the facts as they exist to-day.

“The production of sugar and coffee was constantly increasing until the slave-trade was abolished in 1805. In that year Jamaica had 859 sugar estates in cultivation, and she exported 137,000 hogsheads of sugar and 24,000,000 lbs. of coffee. Then the production of these articles, deprived of the unnatural stimulus already mentioned, began to decline. In 1834, when Slavery was abolished, Jamaica had 646 sugar estates in cultivation, and she exported only 79,465 hogsheads of sugar and 17,859,277 lbs. of coffee. Chiefly in conse-

quence of the equalization of the sugar duties by the Act of 1846, further declension took place, until last year, when the sugar exports seem to have reached their lowest point, amounting to the insignificant item of only 23,750 hogsheads, grown on 300 estates. Compared with the exports of 1862, which shewed a total of 33,097 hogsheads, we have here a diminution in four years of more than 10,000 hogsheads. Imagine the effect of this upon wages and upon machinery, and upon the aspect of estates, with their dismantled buildings, and upon the homes both of proprietors and labourers. We saw woeful deterioration everywhere; and I felt, as we journeyed, that many considerations must be weighed before we can arrive at a true solution of the questions now so constantly agitated respecting this unfortunate country. I asked myself repeatedly this question, What has been the amount of the diminution of wages from the abandonment of estates, and what the effect on the people? I could come to no other conclusion than this, that if each hogshead of sugar costs in wages about 11*l.*, the labouring population must have earned last year, for sugar cultivation alone, 110,000*l.* less in wages than they earned four years previously. Jamaica contains twenty agricultural parishes; and the above figures shew that, on the average, there was a loss last year in each parish of 5500*l.*, as compared with the available funds which the labourers possessed four years ago for expenditure in food and clothing. My inquiries of country shop or storekeepers went to confirm this calculation. They all declared that their trade had seriously diminished. I am thus forced to adopt the opinion, that, in a vast number of instances, the planters are unable, from necessity, to distribute wages of labour as they have formerly done, and that the people suffer from destitution, where there is not sufficient employment to be found.

I do not see how it is possible to gainsay the conclusion from these facts. It must be remembered, also, that while there has been an actual reduction of 110,000*l.* from the wages the people earned four years ago, the numbers of the population have been steadily increasing, so that there ought to have been a proportionate increase in the expenditure in clothing and in food. In twenty-five years the labouring population has increased to the extent of 100,000 persons. A larger number of persons has had a smaller amount of wages to expend; and this has occurred at a time when there has been an immense advance in the price of clothing and other articles of import. To the whole extent of the diminution the community has had] to

suffer; and the only mitigation of that suffering has been found in the fact that the labouring class, by how slow and painful steps we can scarcely imagine, has been gradually finding out for itself new sources of gain, and outlets for industry.

"I was intensely interested on my tour in the discovery of the facts which confirm what I have just stated, and in learning particulars of the difficulties which beset the negro cultivator in his attempts to grow exportable produce. He is frequently unable to find means of transit for his goods; and I think it of great importance that facilities should be furnished for exportation, and that the people should be encouraged in the work of growing coffee and ginger and arrowroot, and applying themselves to the preparation of the other native products to be shipped for manufacture in Europe and America. It would be [a great boon if there were any thing like regularity in the arrival of ships. But I have seen wharfs crowded with goods, and not a single vessel to carry them away.

"In spite of obstacles, the people are gradually bringing a large portion of the abandoned estates into cultivation again.

"While visiting an English proprietor of extensive sugar and coffee properties, who has resided in Jamaica for more than thirty years, I was much struck by his moderation in speaking of the difficulty which he had experienced in obtaining a supply of labour, when he required it, for cleansing his ground and planting and cutting canes. He said he could not blame the people, for they were doing better for themselves in cultivating their own little patches than by earning such wages as he could afford to pay; and he offered to shew me thirty little sugar-mills all at work, belonging to peasant proprietors, within three miles of his own house. The following morning, in the course of a delightful ride on horseback among the mountains, my friend's promise was amply fulfilled. At one point we could distinctly see at a glance, on the various hill-sides, twelve or fourteen small mills; and the industrious negroes were in all directions cutting, and carrying, and crushing their little crops of sugar-cane. We visited several of these peasant proprietors; and I came away with the conviction, that, although undoubtedly poor, because they are employing themselves in the production of an article which does not at present bring a remunerative price, yet nothing can fairly be alleged against either their industry or their skill. I was also pleased to see that they possess some aptitude for other kinds of cultivation, and I hope, in time, they may realize larger profits than are now possible. If this

should be achieved by the people, under wise and gentle government, and having the advantage of good religious teaching, I think there is reason to expect they will gradually come to appreciate education for their children, and other civilizing influences and habits, more highly than they have ever done.

"The black and coloured people of Jamaica have not obtained much credit for acting hitherto on those principles of association which are now so highly esteemed in England and on the continent of Europe. It was therefore with peculiar pleasure I learned, on my tour, that several highly interesting establishments exist which seem to be well adapted for bringing these principles into favour. I saw the managers of an association, formed at Black River, for collecting the people's produce and superintending its shipment to England, and conversion into money. I shall watch this experiment with an earnest wish for its success in putting the negro cultivators of the soil into immediate and satisfactory commercial relations with the consumers at home. Mr. Payne brought under my notice a still more interesting, because an actually existent institution, in the shape of a negro 'bank.' We visited the thriving village where its business is carried on, and had the opportunity of inspecting its books and rules. It is wholly under the management of black and coloured persons. We conversed with its treasurer and secretary. The former is an old man, once a slave, now a successful sugar-planter, though on a small scale. In him I felt a special interest, because he was well known to our dear friends Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, and is highly spoken of in their 'Visit to the West Indies in 1837.' We learned that the bank was established in 1862, and that its capital consisted of a sum of 40*l.*, subscribed by the members, or, as we should call them, shareholders. The capital is lent at interest to the members who need it, to assist them in business, and especially in the cultivation of the soil.

"On the day we were at the bank (April 12th) the fund had increased to 624*l.*, and was then lent out to 103 different persons, to whom, we were assured, it had proved of the greatest use. I could multiply instances of this spirit of co-operation, which I earnestly trust may grow and be strengthened, because I believe that in it are the germs of much prosperity for the people.

"There are numberless topics suggested by this visit to Jamaica on which I shall be glad to communicate with you as occasion may arise. For the present I leave the subject. So many intelligent Englishmen

have visited the island, that I cannot but cherish the hope that a remedy will be speedily applied for some of the principal evils that afflict her. At all events, the British public must see to it, that such a reproach as I heard from the lips of Mr. Justice Ker shall no longer be possible. That able and upright, though it may be eccentric judge, told the Royal Commissioners that 'recent legislation in Jamaica had no spirit of statesmanship about it, nor the smallest regard for the interests of the people.'

"Under the new *régime* all this must be altered; and I hope and fully expect that a higher intelligence, inspired by a purer philanthropy than heretofore, will be brought to bear upon the subject in the councils of the Queen's Government, and that the beautiful island of Jamaica will receive and give back the blessing."

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Thursday, 11th May, 1866.)

SLAVE-TRADE SUPPRESSION VOTES.

It was proposed that 3500*l.* be voted for the Niger Expedition.

In reply to Mr. C. BENTINCK,

Mr. LAYARD said the vote was required for the station established at the junction of the Tchadda and the Niger. The necessity for keeping up the establishment would depend on the continuance of the trade on those rivers.

Mr. OLIPHANT hoped that the necessity for encouraging the trade upon the Tchadda and Niger would induce the Government to maintain there an establishment that was found to be of great advantage, and that he hoped hereafter would prove of great advantage to this country.

Mr. C. BENTINCK understood that the continuance of the establishment was to depend upon the merchants of Liverpool continuing to trade there.

Alderman LUSK said the merchants of Liverpool sent their ships there for a profit, and he did not see why the country should pay 3500*l.* a year for that purpose.

Mr. LAYARD explained that when British merchants traded up the rivers it was necessary to give them the protection of a British consul. It was important that trade should be carried on there, because it afforded the best means of putting an end to the slave-trade. If vessels were sent up the Niger, her Majesty should keep a consul at the junction of the two rivers for the protection of British subjects.

The vote was agreed to.

It was proposed that 29,000*l.* should be voted to complete a sum of 39,000*l.* for captured negroes and bounties on slaves.

Mr. MONK: Has the Treasury been recouped to any, and what extent, the sums paid by way of bounties to officers of her Majesty's ships out of the proceeds of the sales of the slavers captured by those ships?

Mr. CHILDERES: Yes.

Mr. WHITE complained of the largeness of the sum payable under this head, although we had the co-operation of the American Government in suppressing the slave-trade.

Mr. FOSTER said some reduction in the vote for future years was probable. The payments made on this account were some time after they were actually due.

Mr. D. GRIFFITH expressed apprehensions that the slave-trade was still being carried on by the Spaniards.

Mr. LAYARD believed that during the last year only one cargo of slaves had been shipped from the Western Coast of Africa. A cargo had, they were informed, also been landed in Cuba; but it was not known whence it had come. It was immediately seized by the Spanish authorities; and he might take this opportunity of acknowledging the zealous services of General Dulce, the late Spanish Governor of Cuba, in the suppression of the slave-trade. There was every probability of the entire cessation of the trade from the West Coast of Africa.

Mr. C. BENTINCK inquired as to the continuance of the slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa.

Mr. LAYARD was afraid that it was still carried on extensively in the Portuguese settlements.

Vote agreed to.

10,450⁷. were voted to defray the expenses of commissions for suppression of the slave-trade.

Monday, 14th May.

THE JAMAICA BILL OF INDEMNITY.

Mr. TORRENS asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, having before him the report of the Jamaica Commission of Inquiry, he had advised Her Majesty to disallow the Bill of Indemnity passed by the Colonial Legislature for acts done in repressing the disturbances of October last.

Mr. CARDWELL replied that it was quite true that Her Majesty's Government had received the report of the Jamaica Commissioners, but they had not yet received the whole of the evidence upon which that report was founded, and therefore they did not think it right to take any steps with regard to the Indemnity Bill.

THE TWO VETOES.

We place on record the two messages of President Johnson, vetoing first the Freedman's Bureau Bill, and secondly the Civil Rights Bill. These documents constitute an important part of the history of the abolition of Slavery in the United States, and we therefore feel compelled to give them, notwithstanding their length, a place in our columns. The message vetoing the Freedman's Bureau Bill was transmitted to the Senate on the 19th of February last.

VETO OF THE FREEDMAN'S BUREAU BILL.

To the Senate of the United States :

I have examined with care the Bill which originated in the Senate, and has been passed by the two Houses of Congress, to amend an Act entitled "An Act to establish a Bureau for the relief of Freedmen and Refugees, and for other

purposes. Having with much regret come to the conclusion that it would not be consistent with the public welfare to give my approval to the measure, I return the Bill to the Senate, with my objections to its becoming a law.

THE OBJECTIONS TO THE BILL.

I might call to mind, in advance, these objections; that there is no immediate necessity for the proposed measure: the Act to establish a Bureau for Freedmen and Refugees, which was approved in the month of March last, has not yet expired: it was thought stringent and extensive enough for the purpose in view. Before it ceases to have effect further experience may assist to guide us to a wise conclusion as to the policy to be adopted in time of peace.

I have, with Congress, the strongest desire to accord to freedmen the full enjoyment of their freedom and their property, and their entire independence and equality in making contracts for their labour. But the Bill before me contains provisions, which, in my opinion, are not warranted by the Constitution, and are not well suited to accomplish the end in view.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL FEATURES OF THE MEASURE.

The Bill proposes to establish its provisions by authority of Congress, over all parts of the United States containing refugees and freedmen. It would, by its very nature, apply with the most force to those parts of the United States in which the freedmen most abound, and it expressly extends the existing temporary jurisdiction of the Freedman's Bureau, with greatly enlarged powers, over the States in which the ordinary course of judicial proceedings has been interrupted by the rebellion. The source from which this military jurisdiction is to emanate is none other than the President of the United States acting through the War Department and the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau. The agents to carry out this military jurisdiction are to be selected either from the army or from civil life. The country is to be divided into districts and sub-districts, and the number of salaried agents to be employed may be equal to the number of counties and parishes in all the United States, where freedmen and refugees are to be found. The subjects over which this military jurisdiction is to extend in every part of the United States include protection to all employés, agents, and officers of this Bureau in the exercise of the duties imposed upon them by the Bill.

In eleven States it is further to extend over all cases affecting freedmen and refugees, discriminated against by local law, custom, or prejudice. In these eleven States the Bill subjects any white person who may be charged with depriving a freedman of any rights or immunities belonging to white persons, to imprisonment or fine, or both, without, however, defining the civil rights and immunities which are thus to be secured to the freedmen by military law. This military jurisdiction also extends to all questions that may arise respecting contracts. The agents who are thus to exercise the office of a military judge may be strangers entirely ignorant of the laws of the place, and exposed to errors of judgment of which all men are liable. The exercise of power, over

which there is no legal supervision, by so vast a number of agents, as is contemplated by the Bill, must, by the very nature of man, be attended by acts of caprice, injustice, and passion. The trials having their origin under this Bill are to take place without intervention of jury, and without any fixed rules of law or evidence.

The rules on which offences are to be heard and determined by the numerous agents are such rules and regulations as the President, through the War Department, shall prescribe. No previous presentment is required, nor any indictment charging the commission of a crime against the laws, but the trial must proceed on charges and specifications. The punishment will not be what the law declares, but such as the court-martial may think proper, and from these arbitrary tribunals there lies no appeal, no writ of error to any of the Courts in which the Constitution of the United States vests exclusively the judicial power of the country. While the territory and the class of actions and offences that are made subject to this measure are so extensive that the Bill itself, should it become a law, will have no limitation in point of time, but will form a part of the permanent legislation of the country, I cannot reconcile a system of military jurisdiction of this kind with the words of the Constitution, which declare that "no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of the grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger," and "that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State or district wherein the crime shall be committed."

The safeguards which the wisdom and experience of ages have employed to establish securities for the protection of the innocent, the punishment of the guilty, and the equal administration of justice, are to be set aside, and for the sake of more rigorous interposition in behalf of justice, we are to take the risk of the many acts of injustice that would of necessity follow from an almost countless number of agents established in every parish or county in nearly one-third of the States of the Union, over whose decision there is to be no supervision or control by the Federal courts. The power that would be thus placed in the hands of the President is such as in time of peace certainly ought never to be entrusted to any one man. If it be asked whether the creation of such a tribunal within a State is warranted as a measure of war, the question immediately presents itself whether we are still engaged in war. Let us not unnecessarily disturb the commerce and credit and industry of the country by declaring to the American people and the world that the United States are still in a condition of civil war. At present there is no part of our country in which the authority of the United States is disputed. Offences that may be committed by individuals should not work a forfeiture of the rights of the same communities. The country has entered, or is returning to a state of peace and industry, and the rebellion is, in fact, at an end. The measure, therefore, seems to be as inconsistent with the actual condition of

the country as it is at variance with the Constitution of the United States.

OBJECTION TO THE PERMANENT CHARACTER OF THE BILL.

If, passing from general considerations, we examine the Bill in detail it is open to weighty objections. In time of war it was eminently proper that we should provide for those who were passing suddenly from a condition of bondage to a state of freedom; but this Bill proposes to make the Freedmen's Bureau, established by the Act of 1865 as one of many great and extraordinary military measures to suppress a formidable rebellion, a permanent branch of the public administration, with its powers greatly enlarged. I have no reason to suppose, and I do not understand it to be alleged, that the Act of March 1865 has proved deficient for the purpose for which it was passed, although at the time, and for a considerable period thereafter, the Government of the United States remained unacknowledged in most of the States whose inhabitants had been involved in the rebellion. The institution of Slavery, for the military destruction of which the Freedmen's Bureau was called into existence as an auxiliary force, has been already effectually and finally abrogated throughout the whole country by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and practically its eradication has received the assent and concurrence of most of the States in which at any time it had existed. I am not, therefore, able to discern in the country any thing to justify any apprehension that the powers and agencies of the Freedmen's Bureau, which were effective for the protection of freedmen and refugees during the actual continuation of hostilities and of African servitude, will now, in a time of peace, and after the abolition of Slavery, prove inadequate to the same proper ends.

OBJECTIONS TO THE ELEMOSYNARY FEATURES OF THE BILL.

If I am correct in these views, there can be no necessity for the enlargement of the powers of the Bureau, for which provision is made in the Bill. The third section of the Bill authorizes a general and unlimited grant of support to the destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen, and their wives and children. Succeeding sections make provision for the rent or purchase of landed estates for freedmen, and for the erection for their benefit of suitable buildings for asylums and schools, the expenses to be defrayed from the treasury of the whole people. The Congress of the United States has never heretofore thought itself competent to establish any laws beyond the limits of the District of Columbia, except for the benefit of our disabled soldiers and sailors. It has never founded schools for any class or for our own people, not even for the orphans of those who have fallen in the defence of the Union, but has left the care of their education to the much more competent and efficient control of the States, of communities, of private associations and of individuals. It has never deemed itself authorized to expend the public money for the rent or purchase of houses for the thousands, not to say millions, of the white race who are honestly toiling from day to day for their subsistence. A system for the support of indigent persons in the United

States was never contemplated by the authors of the Constitution, nor can any very good reason be advanced why, as a permanent establishment, it should be founded for one class or colour of our people more than another. Before the war many refugees and freedmen received support from the Government, but it was never intended that they should henceforth be educated, clothed and sheltered by the United States. The idea on which the slaves were assisted to freedom was, that on becoming free they would be a self-sustaining population. Any legislation that shall imply that they are not expected to attain a self-sustaining condition must have a tendency injurious alike to their character and their prosperity.

OBJECTIONS ON ACCOUNT OF EXPENSE.

The appointment of an agent for every county and parish will create an immense patronage, and the expense of the numerous officers and their clerks, to be appointed by the President, will be great in the beginning, with a tendency to steadily increase. The appropriations asked by the Freedmen's Bureau, as now established, for the year 1866, amount to 11,745,000 dollars. It may safely be estimated that the cost to be incurred under the pending Bill will require double that amount—more than the entire sum expended in any one year under the administration of the second Adams. If the presence of agents in every parish and county is to be considered as a war measure, opposition, or even resistance, might be provoked; so that, to give effect to their jurisdiction, troops would have to be stationed within reach of every one of them, and thus a large standing force be rendered necessary. Large appropriations would therefore be required to sustain and enforce military jurisdiction in every county or parish from the Potomac to the Rio Grande.

The condition of our fiscal affairs is encouraging, but in order to sustain the present measure of public confidence it is necessary that we practice not merely customary economy, but, as far as possible severe retrenchment.

OBJECTIONS TO THE APPROPRIATIONS OF LAND.

In addition to the objections already stated, the fifth section of the Bill proposes to take away land from former owners without any legal proceedings being first had, contrary to that provision of the Constitution which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. It does not appear that a part of the lands to which this section refers may not be owned by minors, or persons of unsound mind, or by those who have been faithful to all their obligations as citizens of the United States. If any portion of the land is held by such persons, it is not competent for any authority to deprive them of it. If, on the other hand, it be found that the property is liable to confiscation, even then it cannot be appropriated to public purposes, until, by due process of law, it shall have been declared forfeited to the Government.

OBJECTIONS ON ACCOUNT OF THE FREEDMEN THEMSELVES.

There are still further objections to the Bill on grounds seriously affecting the class of persons to whom it is designed to bring relief. It will tend

to keep the mind of the freedman in a state of uncertain expectation and restlessness, while to those among whom he lives it will be a source of constant and vague apprehension. Undoubtedly the freedman should be protected, but he should be protected by the civil authorities—especially by the exercise of all the constitutional powers of the courts of the United States and of the States. His condition is not so exposed as may at first be imagined: he is in a portion of the country where his labour cannot be well spared: competition for his services from planters, from those who are constructing or re-opening railroads, or from capitalists in his vicinage, or from other States, will enable him to command almost his own terms. He also possesses a perfect right to change his place of abode; and if, therefore, he does not find in one community or State a mode of life suited to his desires, or proper remuneration for his labour, he can move to another where labour is more esteemed and better rewarded. In truth, however, each State, induced by its own wants and interests, will do what is necessary and proper to retain within its borders all the labour that is needed for the development of its resources. The laws that regulate supply and demand will maintain their force, and the wages of the labourer will be regulated thereby. There is no danger that the great demand for labour will not operate in favour of the labourer. Neither is sufficient consideration given to the ability of freedmen to protect and take care of themselves. It is no more than justice to them to believe, that as they have received their freedom with moderation and forbearance, so they will distinguish themselves by their industry and thrift, and soon show the world, that in their condition of freedom they are self-sustaining, and capable of selecting their own employment and their own place of abode; of insisting for themselves on a proper remuneration, and of establishing and of maintaining their own asylums and schools. It is earnestly hoped that, instead of wasting away, they will, by their own efforts, establish for themselves a condition of respectability and prosperity. It is certain that they can attain to that condition only through their own merits and exertions.

In this connection the query presents itself whether the system proposed by the Bill will not, when put into complete operation, practically transfer the entire care, support, and control of four millions of emancipated slaves to agents, overseers, or taskmasters, who, appointed at Washington, are to be located in every county and parish throughout the United States containing freedmen and refugees. Such a system would inevitably tend to such a concentration of power in the Executive as would enable him, if so disposed, to control the action of numerous classes, and use them for the attainment of his own political ends.

OBJECTION ON ACCOUNT OF SOUTHERN NON-REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS.

I cannot but add another very grave objection to this Bill. The Constitution imperatively declares, in connection with taxation, that each State shall have at least one representative, and fixes the rule for the number to which in future times each State shall be entitled.

It also provides that the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, and adds with peculiar force, that no State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate. The original Act was necessarily passed in the absence of the States chiefly to be affected, because their people were then contumaciously engaged in the rebellion. Now the case is changed, and some, at least, of the States are attending Congress by loyal representatives, soliciting the allowance of the constitutional right of representation. At the time, however, of the consideration and the passing of the Bill, there was no senator or representative in Congress from the eleven States which are to be mainly affected by its provisions. The very fact that reports were and are made against the good disposition of the country, is an additional reason why they need, and should have, representatives of their own in Congress to explain their condition, to reply to assertions, and assist, by their local knowledge, in the perfecting of measures immediately affecting themselves, while the liberty of deliberation would then be free, and Congress would have full power to decide according to its judgment. There would be no objection urged that the States most interested had not been permitted to be heard. The principle is firmly fixed in the minds of the American people that there should be no taxation without representation. Great burdens are now to be borne by all the country, and we may best demand that they shall be borne without a murmur when they are voted by a majority of the representatives of all the people. I would not interfere with the unquestionable right of Congress to judge, each House for itself, of the election returns and qualifications of its own members; but that authority cannot be construed as including the right to shut out in time of peace any State from the representation to which it is entitled by the Constitution. At present all the people of the eleven States are excluded, those who were most faithful during the war not less than others. The State of Tennessee, for instance, whose authorities engaged in rebellion, was restored to all her constitutional relations to the Union by the patriotism and energy of her injured and betrayed people. Before the war was brought to a termination, they had placed themselves in relation with the General Government, had established a State Government of their own, and, as they were not included in the Emancipation Proclamation, they, by their own act, had amended their Constitution so as to abolish Slavery within the limit of their State. I know no reason why the State of Tennessee for example, should not fully enjoy all her Constitutional relations to the United States.

DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE COUNTRY.

The President of the United States stands towards the country in a somewhat different attitude from that of any member of Congress, chosen from a single district or State. The President is chosen by the people of all the States. Eleven States are not at this time represented in either branch of Congress. It would seem to be his duty, on all proper occasions, to present their

just claims to Congress. There always will be differences of opinion in the community, and individuals may be guilty of transgressions of the law, but these do not constitute valid objections against the right of a State to representation. I would in nowise interfere with the discretion of Congress with regard to the qualifications of members; but I hold it my duty to recommend to you, in the interests of peace and in the interests of the Union, the admission of every State to its share of public legislation. However subordinate, insurgent, or rebellious its people may have been, it presents itself not only in an attitude of loyalty and harmony, but in the persons of representatives, whose loyalty cannot be questioned under existing constitutional or legal tests.

It is plain that an indefinite or permanent exclusion of any part of the country from representation must be attended by a spirit of disquiet and complaint. It is unsound and dangerous to pursue a course of measures which will unite any large section of country against another section of country, no matter how much the latter may predominate. The course of immigration, the development of industry, and business and natural causes will raise up at the South men as devoted to the Union as those of any part of the land. "But if they are excluded from Congress; if, in a permanent statute, they are declared not to be in full constitutional relations to the country, they may think they have cause to become a unit in feelings and sentiments against the Government. Under the political education of the American people, the idea is inherent and ineradicable that the consent of the majority of the whole people is necessary to secure a willing acquiescence in legislation. The Bill under consideration refers to certain States as though they had not "been fully restored in all their constitutional relations to the United States." If they have not, let us at once act together to secure that desirable end at the earliest possible moment. It is hardly necessary for me to inform Congress, that, in my judgment, most of these States, so far, at least, as depends upon their own action, have already been fully restored, and are to be deemed to be entitled to enjoy their constitutional rights as members of the Union. Reasoning from the Constitution itself, and from the actual situation of the country, I feel not only entitled, but bound to assume, that with the Federal courts restored in the several States, and in full exercise of their functions, the rights and interests of all classes of people will, with the aid of the military in cases of resistance to the law, be essentially protected against unconstitutional infringement and violation. Should this expectation unhappily fail, which I do not anticipate, then the Executive is already armed with the powers conferred by the Act of March 1863, establishing the Freedmen's Bureau, and hereafter, as heretofore, he can employ the land or naval force of the country to suppress insurrection, and to overcome obstructions to the laws.

I return the Bill to the Senate in the earnest hope that a measure involving questions and interests so important to the country will not become a law, unless, upon deliberate considera-

tion by the people, it shall receive the sanction of an enlightened public judgment.

(Signed) ANDREW JOHNSON.
Washington, D. C., Feb. 19, 1866.

Subjoined is the President's] Message, vetoing the Civil Rights Bill, and which was transmitted to the Senate on the 27th of March last.

To the Senate of the United States.

I regret that the Bill, which has just passed both Houses of Congress, entitled "An Act to Protect all Persons in the United States in their Civil Rights and Furnish the Means of their Vindication," contains provisions which I cannot approve consistently with my sense of duty to the whole people, and my obligations to the Constitution of the United States. I am, therefore, constrained to return it to the Senate (the House in which it originated), with my objections to it becoming a law.

By the first section of the Bill all persons born in the United States, and not subject to any foreign Power, excluding Indians not taxed, are declared to be citizens of the United States. This provision comprehends the Chinese of the Pacific States, Indians subject to taxation, the people called Gipsies, as well as the entire race designated blacks, people of colour, negroes, mulattoes, and persons of African blood. Every individual of these races born in the United States is, by the Bill, made a citizen of the United States. It does not purport to declare or confer any other right of citizenship than Federal citizenship; it does not propose to give these classes of persons any status as citizens of States, except that which may result from their status as citizens of the United States. The power to confer the right of State citizenship is just as exclusively with the several States as the power to confer the right of Federal citizenship is with Congress. The right of Federal citizenship thus to be conferred in the several excepted ratios before mentioned is now for the first time proposed to be given by law.

If, as is claimed by many, all persons who are native born already are, by virtue of the Constitution, citizens of the United States, the passage of the pending Bill cannot be necessary to make them such. If, on the other hand, such persons are not citizens, as may be assumed from the proposed legislation to make them such, the grave question presents itself, whether, where eleven of the thirty-six States are unrepresented in Congress at this time, it is sound policy to make our entire coloured population, and all other excepted classes, citizens of the United States. Four millions of them have just merged from Slavery into freedom. Can it be reasonably supposed that they possess the requisite qualifications to entitle them to all the privileges and immunities of citizenship of the United States? Have the people of the several States expressed such a conviction? It may also be asked whether it is necessary that they should be declared citizens in order that they may be secured in the enjoyment of the civil rights proposed to be conferred by the Bill.

Those rights are, by Federal as well as by State laws, secured to all domiciled aliens and

foreigners, even before the completion of the process of naturalization; and it may safely be assumed that the same enactments are sufficient to give like protection and benefits to those for whom this Bill provides special legislation. Beside, the policy of the Government, from its origin to the present time, seems to have been, that persons who are strangers to, and unfamiliar with, our institutions and our laws should pass through a certain probation, at the end of which, before attaining the coveted prize, they must give evidence of their fitness to receive and to exercise the rights of citizens as contemplated by the Constitution of the United States.

The Bill, in effect, proposes a discrimination against large numbers of intelligent, worthy and patriotic foreigners, [and in favour of the negro, to whom, after long years of bondage, the avenues to freedom and intelligence have just been suddenly opened. He must, of necessity, from his previous unfortunate condition of servitude, be less informed as to the nature and character of our institutions than he who, coming from abroad, has, to some extent at least, familiarized himself with the principles of a Government to which he voluntarily intrusts life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Yet it is now proposed by a single legislative enactment to confer the rights of citizens upon all persons of African descent, born within the extended limits of the United States, while persons of foreign birth, who make our land their home, must undergo a probation of five years, and can only then become citizens upon proof that they are of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same.

The first section of the Bill also contains an enumeration of the rights to be enjoyed by those classes so made citizens in every State and Territory in the United States. These rights are: To make and enforce contracts; to sue, be parties and give evidence in court; to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to have full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as are enjoyed by white citizens: so, too, they are made subject to the same punishment, pains, and penalties, in common with white citizens, and to none others. Thus a perfect equality of the white and coloured races is attempted to be fixed by Federal law in every State of this Union, over the vast field of State jurisdiction covered by these enumerated rights. In no one of them can any State exercise any power of discrimination between different races.

In the exercise of State policy over matters exclusively affecting the people of each State, it has frequently been thought expedient to discriminate between the two races. By the statutes of some of the States, North as well as South, it is enacted, for instance, that no white person shall intermarry with a negro or mulatto. Chancellor Kent says, speaking of the blacks, that marriages between them and the whites are forbidden in some of the States where Slavery does not exist, and they are prohibited in all the slaveholding States by law, and, where

not absolutely contrary to law, they are revolting, and regarded as an offence against public decorum.

I do not say that this Bill repeals State laws on the subject of marriage between the two races; for, as the whites are forbidden to intermarry with the blacks, the blacks can only make such contracts as the whites themselves are allowed to make, and therefore cannot, under this Bill, enter into the marriage contract with the whites. I cite this discrimination, however, as an instance of the State policy as to discrimination, and to inquire whether, if Congress can abrogate all State laws of discrimination between the two races, in the matter of real estate, of suits, and of contracts generally, Congress may not also repeal the State laws as to the contract of marriage between the races. Hitherto every subject embraced in the enumeration of rights contained in the Bill has been considered as exclusively belonging to the States. They all relate to the internal policy and economy of respective States. They are matters which, in each State, concern the domestic condition of the people, varying in each according to its own peculiar circumstances, and the safety and well-being of its own citizens.

I do not mean to say, that upon all those subjects there are not Federal restraints; as, for instance, in the State power of legislation over contracts there is a Federal limitation that no State shall pass a law impairing the obligations of contracts; and, as to crimes, that no State shall pass an *ex post facto* law; and, as to money, that no State shall make any thing but gold and silver a legal tender. But where can we find a Federal prohibition against the power of any State to discriminate, as do most of them, between aliens and citizens, between artificial persons called corporations, and naturalized persons, in the right to hold real estate? If it be granted that Congress can repeal all State laws discriminating between whites and blacks in the subjects covered by this Bill, why, it may be asked, may not Congress repeal in the same way all State laws discriminating between the two races on the subjects of suffrage and office?

If Congress can declare by law who shall hold lands, who shall testify, who shall have capacity to make a contract in a State, then Congress can also by law declare who, without regard to race or colour, shall have the right to sit as a juror or as a judge, to hold any office, and, finally, to vote in every State and Territory of the United States. As respects the Territories, they come within the power of Congress, for, as to them, the law-making power is a Federal power; but as to the States, no similar power exists vesting in Congress the power to make rules and regulations for them.

The object of the second section of the Bill is to afford discriminating protection to coloured persons in the enjoyment of all the rights secured to them by the preceding section. It declares that any person who, under colour of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, shall subject or cause to be subjected any inhabitant of any State or Territory to the deprivation of any right secured or protected by this Act, or to

different punishment, pains, or penalties, on account of such person having at any time been held in a condition of Slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, or by reason of his colour or race, than is prescribed for the punishment of white persons, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and, on conviction, shall be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

This section seems to be designed to apply to some existing or future law of a State or Territory which may conflict with the provisions of the Bill now under consideration. It provides for counteracting such forbidden legislation by imposing fine and imprisonment upon the legislators who may pass such conflicting laws, or upon the officers or agents who shall put, or attempt to put them into execution. It means an official offence, not a common crime committed against law upon the person or property of the black race. Such an Act may deprive the black man of his property, but not of his right to hold property. It means a deprivation of the right itself, either by the State judiciary or by the State legislature.

It is therefore assumed, that, under this section, members of a State legislature who should vote for laws conflicting with the provisions of the Bill, that judges of the State courts who should render judgments in antagonism with its terms, and that marshals and sheriffs who should, as ministerial officers, execute processes sanctioned by State laws, and issued by State judges in execution of their judgments, could be brought before other tribunals, and there subjected to fine and imprisonment for the performance of the duties which such State laws might impose. The legislation thus proposed invades the judicial power of the State. It says to every State court or judge: If you decide that this Act is unconstitutional; if you refuse under the prohibition of a State law to allow a negro to testify; if you hold that over such a subject-matter the said law is paramount, and under colour of a State law refuse the exercise of the right to the negro, your error of judgment, however conscientious, shall subject you to fine and imprisonment.

I do not apprehend that the conflicting legislation which the Bill seems to contemplate is so likely to occur as to render it necessary at this time to adopt a measure of such doubtful constitutionality. In the next place, this provision of the Bill seems to be unnecessary, as adequate judicial remedies could be adopted to secure the desired end without invading the immunities of legislators, always important to be preserved in the interest of public liberty, without assailing the independence of the judiciary, always essential to the preservation of individual rights, and without impairing the efficiency of ministerial officers, always necessary for the maintenance of public peace and order. The remedy proposed by this section seems to be, in this respect, not only anomalous but unconstitutional; for the Constitution guarantees nothing with certainty if it does not insure to the several States

the right of making laws in regard to all matters within their jurisdiction, subject only to the restriction of the Constitution and constitutional laws of the United States, the latter, in case of conflict, to be held as the supreme law of the land.

The third section gives the district courts of the United States exclusive cognizance of all crimes and offences committed against the provisions of this Act, and concurrent jurisdiction with the circuit courts of the United States of all civil and criminal cases affecting persons who are denied, or cannot enforce in the courts, or judicial tribunals of the State or locality where they may be, any of the rights secured to them by the first section. The construction which I have given to the second section is strengthened by this third section; for it makes clear what kind of denial or deprivation of rights secured by the first section was in contemplation. It is a denial or deprivation of such rights in the courts or judicial tribunals of the State. It stands, therefore, clear of doubt that the offence and penalties provided in the second section are intended for the State judge, who, in the clear exercises of his functions as a judge, not acting ministerially, but judicially, shall decide contrary to this Federal law.

In other words, when a State judge, acting upon a question involving a conflict between a State law and Federal law, and bound, according to his own judgment and responsibility, to give an impartial decision between the two, comes to the conclusion that the State law is valid, and the Federal law is invalid, he must not follow the dictates of his own judgment, at the peril of fine and imprisonment. The legislative department of Government of the United States thus takes from the judicial department of the States the sacred and exclusive duty of judicial decision, and converts the State judge into a mere ministerial officer, bound to decide according to the will of Congress. It is clear that in States which deny to persons whose rights are secured by the first section of the Bill any of those rights, all civil and criminal cases affecting them will, by the provisions of the third section, come under the executive cognizance of the Federal tribunals.

It follows that if, in any State which denies to a coloured person any one of all those rights, that person should commit a crime against the laws of the State—murder, arson, rape, or any other crime—all prosecution and punishment through the courts of the State are taken away, and he can only be tried and punished in the Federal courts. How is the criminal to be tried if the offence is provided for and punished by Federal law? That law, and not the State law, is to govern. It is only when the offence does not happen to be within the purview of Federal law that the Federal courts are to try and punish him under any other law. Then resort is to be had to the common law, as modified and changed by State legislation, so far as the same is not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States. So that over this vast domain of criminal jurisprudence, provided by each State for the protection of its own citizens, and for the punishment of all per-

sons who violate its criminal laws, Federal law, wherever it can be made to apply, displaces State law.

The question here naturally arises from what source Congress derives its powers to transfer to Federal tribunals certain classes of cases embraced in this section. The Constitution expressly declares that the judicial power of the United States "shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors or other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between citizens of the different States; between citizens of the same State, claiming land under grants of different States; between a State and citizens of another or different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof and foreign States, citizens or subjects."

Here the judicial power of the United States is expressly set forth and defined; and the Act of September 24, 1789, establishing the Judicial Courts of the United States, in conferring upon the Federal Courts jurisdiction over cases originating in state tribunals, is careful to confine them to the classes enumerated in the above recited clause of the Constitution. This section of the Bill undoubtedly comprehends cases and authorizes the exercise of powers that are not, by the Constitution, within the jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States. To transfer them to these courts would be an exercise of authority well calculated to excite distrust and alarm on the part of all the States, for the Bill applies alike to all of them, as well to those that have, as to those that have not been engaged in rebellion.

It may be assumed that this authority is incident to the power granted to Congress by the Constitution, as recently amended, to enforce, by appropriate legislation the article declaring that neither Slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. It cannot, however, be justly claimed, that with a view to the enforcement of this article of the Constitution, there is at present any necessity for the exercise of all the powers which this Bill confers. Slavery has been abolished, and, at present, nowhere exists within the jurisdiction of the United States, nor has there been, nor is it likely there will be, any attempts to revive it by the people of any State. If, however, any such attempt shall be made, it will then become the duty of the General Government to exercise any and all incidental powers necessary and proper to maintain in-violate this great law of freedom.

The fourth section of the Bill provides that officers and agents of the Freedmen's Bureau shall be empowered to make arrests, and also that other officers may be specially commissioned for that purpose by the President of the United States. It also authorizes Circuit Courts of the United States and Superior Courts of the Ter-

ritories to appoint without limitation, commissioners, who are to be charged with the performance of *quasi judicial* duties. The fifth section empowers the commissioners so to be selected by the court to appoint, in writing, one or more suitable persons, from time to time, to execute warrants and other processes desirable by the Bill. These numerous official agents are made to constitute a sort of police, in addition to the military, and are authorized to summon a *posse comitatus*, and even to call to their aid such portion of land and naval forces of the United States, or the militia, "as may be necessary to the performance of the duty with which they are charged."

This extraordinary power is to be conferred upon agents irresponsible to the Government and to the people, to whose number the discretion of the commissioners is the only limit, and in whose hands such authority might be made a terrible engine of wrong, oppression, and fraud. The general statutes regulating the land and naval forces of the United States, the militia, and the execution of the laws, are believed to be adequate for any emergency which can occur in time of peace. If it should prove otherwise, Congress can at any time amend those laws in such manner as, while subserving the public welfare, not to jeopardise the rights, interests, and liberties of the people.

The seventh section provides that a fee of ten dollars shall be paid to each commissioner in every case brought before him, and a fee of five dollars to his deputy or deputies for each person he or they may arrest and take before any such commissioner, with such other fees as may be deemed reasonable by such commissioner in general for performing such other duties as may be required in the premises. All these fees are to be paid out of the Treasury of the United States, whether there is a conviction or not; but in case of conviction they are to be recoverable from the defendant. It seems to me, that under the influence of such temptations bad men might convert any law, however beneficent, into an instrument of persecution and fraud. By the eighth section of the Bill the United States courts, which sit only in one place for white citizens, must migrate with the marshal and district attorney, and necessarily with the clerk, (although he is not mentioned,) to any part of the district, upon the order of the President, and there hold a court for the purpose of the more speedy arrest and trial of persons charged with a violation of this Act; and there the Judge and officers of the court must remain upon the order of the President for the time therein designated.

The ninth section authorizes the President, or such person as he may empower for that purpose, to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as shall be necessary to prevent the violation and enforce the due execution of this Act. This language seems to imply a permanent military force that is to be always at hand, and whose only business is to be the enforcement of the measure over the vast region where it is intended to operate.

I do not propose to consider the policy of this

Bill. To me the details of the Bill are fraught with evil. The white race and black race of the South have hitherto lived together under the relation of master and slave—capital owning labour. Now that relation is changed, and, as to ownership, capital and labour are divorced. They stand now, each master of itself. In this new relation, one being necessary to the other, there will be a new adjustment, which both are deeply interested in making harmonious. Each has equal power in settling the terms, and, if left to the laws that regulate capital and labour, it is confidently believed that they will satisfactorily work out the problem. Capital, it is true, has more intelligence; but labour is never so ignorant as not to understand its own interests, not to know its own value, and not to see that capital must pay that value. This Bill frustrates this adjustment. It intervenes between capital and labour, and attempts to settle questions of political economy through the agency of numerous officials, whose interest it will be to foment discord between the two races; for as the breach widens their employment will continue, and when it is closed their occupation will terminate.

In all our history, in all our experience as a people living under Federal and State laws, no such system as that contemplated by the detail of this Bill has ever been proposed or adopted. They establish, for the security of the coloured race, safeguards which go infinitely beyond any that the General Government has ever provided for the white race. In fact, the distinction of race and colour is, by the Bill, made to operate in favour of the coloured and against the white race. They interfere with the municipal legislation of the States; with relations existing exclusively between a State and its citizens, or between inhabitants of the same State—an absorption and assumption of power by the General Government which, if acquiesced in, must sap and destroy our federative system of limited powers, and break down the barriers which preserve the rights of the States. It is another step, or rather stride, toward centralization, and the concentration of all legislative powers in the National Government. The tendency of the Bill must be to resuscitate the spirit of rebellion, and to arrest the progress of those influences which are more closely drawing around the States the bonds of union and peace.

My lamented predecessor, in his proclamation of the 1st January 1863, ordered and declared that all persons held as slaves within certain States and parts of States, therein designated, were and thenceforth should be free; and further, that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, would recognise and maintain the freedom of such persons. The guarantee has been rendered especially obligatory and sacred by the amendment of the Constitution abolishing Slavery throughout the United States. I therefore fully recognise the obligation to protect and defend that class of our people whenever and wherever it shall become necessary, and to the full extent compatible with the Constitution of the United States.

Entertaining these sentiments, it only remains

for me to say that I will cheerfully co-operate with Congress in any measure that may be necessary for the preservation of the civil rights of the freedmen, as well as those of all other classes of persons throughout the United States, by judicial process, under equal and impartial laws, or conformably with the provisions of the Federal Constitution.

I now return the Bill to the Senate, and regret that, in considering the Bills and joint resolutions, forty-two in number, which have been thus far submitted for my approval, I am compelled to withhold my assent from a second measure that has received the sanction of both Houses of Congress.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Washington, March 27, 1866.

SENATOR SEWARD ON THE FREEDMEN.

IN February last, M. Laboulaye, the President of the French Emancipation Committee, tendered to Mr. Bigelow, United States Minister in Paris, for transmission to President Johnson, an Address from the Committee on the occasion of the declaration of the President that Slavery in the United States was finally abolished. The following is Mr. Seward's reply. His testimony respecting the freedmen is encouraging.

Department of State,
Washington, 5th March, 1866.

SIR,—Your despatch of the 7th ult. and its accompaniments, relative to the communication which M. Laboulaye, the active President of the French Committee of Emancipation, has addressed to you upon the subject of the President's Proclamation, announcing the abolition of Slavery in the United States, have been received.

In reply to M. Laboulaye, I will thank you to inform him that the congratulations of the Society upon the auspicious event are gratefully received and highly appreciated: that this Government entertains no apprehensions for the future of a race physically qualified to obtain for itself, by industry and application, prosperity and happiness under our free and equal constitution of government, and therefore we feel assured that this desirable result will be peacefully and creditably accomplished.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

FREEDMEN'S AGENTS IN ENGLAND.—The Rev. Sella Martin and the Rev. Dr. Patton are in England as delegates from the American Missionary Association (Freedmen's Aid Society) for the purpose of furnishing information in regard to the Freedmen in America to the benevolent societies of Great Britain and the Continent.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1866.

THE JAMAICA TROUBLES.

BEFORE our next issue, the report of the Royal Commission of inquiry into the late troubles in Jamaica, and the appendix to the minutes of evidence taken, will in all probability have been issued, and its contents made public.

Enough has been said to lead to the conclusion that excuses for declaring martial law will be found for the late Governor, but that he will be censured for permitting its continuance after his proclamation of an amnesty. Now, be it remembered, martial law was proclaimed on the evening of the 13th of October, when the rioters had already committed all the acts of which they were guilty, and when their main body was either dispersed, or was dispersing.

It is sheer exaggeration to assert, as did Mr. Eyre, and as Dr. Bowerbank has done in this country, that the "insurrection" extended over an area of forty miles by thirty. This allegation is not established, nor has any justification been given for the employment of the Maroons. When the late G. W. Gordon was arrested—Mr. Eyre and Dr. Bowerbank performing the office of policemen—all danger had ceased; and it will be demonstrated that no pretext existed for violating the law in his case, and therefore none—save one of personal vindictiveness—for sending him to Morant Bay "for execution." The most atrocious of the cruelties that were inflicted, of the murders that were committed, and of the violations of personal liberty and individual rights that were consummated, took place after all likelihood of trouble was at an end, and the chief actors in these sanguinary dramas must be held responsible to law for their misdeeds.

We believe that the Commissioners will report most unfavourably of the entire system of administering the affairs of the island, and especially of the magisterial system, which is rotten to the core. In fact, a clean sweep must be made of certain branches of the official staff; and if Jamaica is to be properly governed in future, no Jamaica man must be permitted to hold any kind of office in which he can exercise a control over public affairs.

It is a great pity that Dr. Bowerbank—who is stated to have been Mr. Eyre's evil genius, and to have literally governed him—could not have been examined before the Royal Commission, with a view to test the value of some of the many broad state-

ments he so industriously circulated in England. It is a singular fact, that he left for Jamaica immediately after the last of the Commissioners arrived here. It is quite true that what he whispered into the ears of the Colonial Minister respecting the danger of another "insurrection," and the character of the late outbreak, and especially his slanders against individuals, will now be judged of by the evidence in possession of the Government. But it strikes us, and must strike every one who considers in what particular relation Dr. Bowerbank stood towards Mr. Eyre, that the object of his journey to this country was to back up the latter and his proceedings; and he was, no doubt, greatly surprised, on his arrival at the end of December, to find that his *protégé* was virtually recalled, and that the British nation had, upon the evidence he had sent home, demanded his suspension. Had Dr. Bowerbank come under the searching cross-examination of counsel, many of the allegations he made here would have been at once reduced to their just value; but his evidence would most likely have strengthened the case against Mr. Eyre in the matter of G. W. Gordon's arrest and execution. The worst feature in Dr. Bowerbank's conduct is, that he condescended to retail the foulest slanders against the unhappy widow of a man whom he was directly instrumental in bringing to an untimely end; and that, having been confronted with the individual whom he had also maligned, and been compelled, by his explanations, to admit that the statements he had circulated against him and Mrs. Gordon had no foundation, he did not at once declare as much in public, and thus clear himself from the imputation which rests upon him as the slanderer of Gordon's widow. What may have to be done in the case of this much-to-be-commiserated lady is as yet not decided. It was a most cruel aggravation of the grievous injury she had sustained, by the condemnation and execution of her husband, that the letter he addressed to her, containing his last and most minute instructions for the disposal of his property, and which, had she been put into possession of it, would probably have enabled her to save something from the wreck, was detained for seven weeks by order of the Executive Committee, who, of course, took their inspiration from Mr. Eyre. What can justify such base conduct as this? Did it not prove personal malice? We feel sure that should Mrs. Gordon think fit to appeal to Parliament for redress, she will find British sentiment for justice loudly in her favour.

We observe that the *Falmouth Post* continues the same system of misrepresentation and slander which has characterized

its course from the commencement of this sad business. It writes against evidence, and will probably continue to do so. The time must come, however, when it will be compelled to record opinions quite adverse to its own, until when, it may be left under the delusion that its assertions obtain credit amongst same people.

SLAVE POPULATION STATISTICS.

It is extremely difficult to procure reliable statistics on the subject of the slave population of Brazil and Cuba. From time to time we have furnished our readers with such as came to hand from official sources, but without committing ourselves to their accuracy. As a poll-tax is imposed, it is to the interest of the owners to give false returns; and other reasons exist—especially in Cuba—for concealing the real number of the servile population. On this subject we have published more than one article, analyzing the statistics. Our last on Cuba will be found in the October 1865 number of the *Reporter*. Subjoined is an extract, by way of preface to a tabular statement which we place on record

"In 1831, the slaves were stated to number 265,000.

"For 1841, we find them set down at 496,495.

"In 1853, General Concha states their number to have been 322,529 in 1850.

"In 1860, when the last census was taken, the total is set down at 370,553."

It is not necessary, for the purposes of this article, to recapitulate the arguments based on the foregoing official returns, demonstrating their inaccuracy, and that the slave population must either be diminishing at a frightful rate—notwithstanding the enormous importation of fresh slaves during the extreme periods from 1841 to 1860—or that a very extensive falsification of the returns takes place. We are assured that at least 25 per cent must be added to the official figures. This would not, however, do more than affect rateably the total numbers, and not at all the conclusion to which we wish to direct attention, namely, that accepting the official statements as accurate, from 1841 to 1862, the slave-population has diminished by 127,945, in spite of importations.

The following table is made up from a volume issued in 1864, compiled by the Statistical Bureau at Havana, and is said to be the most complete and reliable in relation to all matters connected with Cuba. The population is given according to departments and districts.

TABLE OF POPULATION IN CUBA TO 1ST JUNE, 1862.

WESTERN DEPARTMENT.

	Whites.	Coloured Population.			
		Free.	Emanci-pados.	Slave.	Total Coloured.
Bahia-Honda	5840	777	41	6115	6933
Bejucal	14,738	1912	58	7040	9010
Cardenas	24,452	1190	270	24,553	26,013
Cienfuegos	29,701	7123	84	17,126	24,333
Colon	28,862	2126	358	32,871	35,355
Guanabawa	15,283	4006	94	6834	10,930
Guanajay	19,177	3340	181	17,145	20,666
Güines	33,227	3995	143	25,097	29,235
Habana	122,892	38,846	1298	27,296	67,440
Jarnco	23,431	2872	191	11,077	14,140
Matanzas	40,627	6936	131	32,219	39,286
Nuevitas	4189	533	32	1622	2187
Pinar del Rio	43,522	10,262	146	14,996	25,404
Puerto-Principe	38,566	10,574	212	13,185	23,971
Remedios	32,425	5191	144	9487	14,822
Sagua la Grande	30,420	2072	344	19,150	21,566
San Antonio	21,127	1957	65	10,737	12,759
Santa Clara	34,579	11,109	91	6865	18,065
San Cristobal	17,917	3161	128	7771	11,060
Sa. Ma. del Rosario	5049	812	16	2173	3001
Santiago	9302	1981	60	4507	6548
Sancti Spiritus	29,624	7078	56	8949	16,083
Trinidad	17,936	8915	119	10,539	19,573
Isla de Pinos	1529	195	10	333	538
Total of the Department	644,401	136,959	4272	317,687	458,918

EASTERN DEPARTMENT.

Baracoa	4530	4791	8	1471	6270
Bayamo	15,834	12,850	1	2651	15,502
Cuba	23,789	36,362	118	31,082	67,562
Guantanamo	5268	5431	84	8638	14,153
Holguin	40,852	7022	23	4226	11,271
Jiquani	12,312	4658	...	602	5260
Manzanillo	13,675	11,093	12	1713	12,818
Tunas	4089	2251	3	480	2734
Total of the Department	120,349	84,458	249	50,863	135,570
Total of the Island	764,750	221,447	4521	368,550	594,488

We furnish next, a similar tabular statement for the Brazilian Empire, obtained from official sources, but are informed

that about 30 per cent. must be added to the amount of the slave population, to cover fraudulent returns.

THE POPULATION OF BRAZIL, SLAVE, FREE, AND EMANCIPADOS, ACCORDING TO THE STATISTICS OF 1864.

Provinces.	Free.	Slave.	Total.
1. Amazonas	69,000	1000	7000
2. Pará	290,000	30,000	320,000
3. Maranhão	330,000	70,000	400,000
4. Pianhij	230,000	20,000	250,000
5. Ceará	504,000	36,000	540,000
6. Rio Grande de Norte	202,000	23,000	225,000
7. Paraíba	250,000	30,000	280,000
8. Pernambuco	1,040,000	260,000	1,300,000
9. Allogosas	250,000	50,000	300,000
10. Sergipe	220,000	55,000	275,000
11. Bahia	1,100,000	300,000	1,400,000
12. Espírito Santo	50,000	15,000	65,000
13. Rio de Janeiro	700,000	300,000	1,000,000
14. Municipio Neutro de Corte	300,000	100,000	400,000
15. S. Paulo	700,000	100,000	800,000
16. Paraná	80,000	20,000	100,000
17. S. Catharina	135,000	15,000	150,000
18. Rio Grande de Sul	380,000	40,000	420,000
19. Minas Geraes	1,200,000	250,000	1,450,000
20. Goiar	205,000	15,000	220,000
21. Matto Grosso	60,000	6000	66,000
Totals	8,295,000	1,716,000	10,011,000

Amongst the Emancipados are numbers who are free.

Upon the basis of these statistics—always accepting them as accurate—and reckoning the average value of a slave in each of the two countries at 30*l.*, and that emancipa-

tion is likely to be declared with an indemnity, if at all, the amount of it for Cuba would be 11,056,500*l.*, and for Brazil 51,480,000*l.*

SLAVE-TRADE DESPATCHES.

In our last we gave a summary of the contents of the Slave-trade Papers, presented to Parliament this Session. We now place on record the most important of them, being the Annual Reports of Her Majesty's Commissioners in various parts.

CUBA.

MR. BUNCH, HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSARY JUDGE,
TO EARL RUSSELL.

Havana, Sept. 30th, 1865.

My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit herewith the Annual Report on the Slave-trade in Cuba, which is required by my instructions.

In the interval between the 30th of September, 1864, and my arrival in Havana on the 25th of November, I find that Mr. J. V. Crawford had received information of three landings of negroes, viz. at Canasi at Camarioed, and at Mangles Altos. The last two may, I believe, be dismissed as apocryphal, as Mr. Crawford has reported that there is no proof concerning them.

As regards the first-named supposed landing, viz. that of Canasi, more ground for question appears to exist. Mr. Crawford is decidedly of opinion that about 600 negroes were landed from this expedition, and that none of them were captured. On the other hand, the Secretary of the Government denies most positively that there is any proof of the fact. I have myself

gone carefully with that officer over all the documents connected with the investigation, beginning with the letter of Mr. Crawford to General Dulce, and ending with the report of the Judge of the Audiencia, who was sent to inquire into the matter. These papers were voluminous, and were submitted to me freely, so that I could see them for myself. All the Spanish officials concur in denying that the expedition ever landed. Under these circumstances, and with the concurrence of Mr. Crawford, I have thought it advisable not to insert these 600 negroes in the table; but there is certainly some room for doubt in the matter.

I am able to report, that since the date of my arrival in Havana there has been, to the best of my belief, but one case of introduction of negroes from Africa into any part of Cuba. This has occurred within the last few days. The negroes, to the number of 145, were successfully landed, but 143 of them were immediately apprehended by the Spanish authorities. Several of the persons supposed to have been engaged in the expedition have also been arrested. This landing is reported to your lordship in my despatch of the 26th instant.

It is of course possible that the belief I have expressed above may be a mistaken one, but the concurrent testimony of the Captain-General, of the Spanish officers at the outports, of our own consular agents, of the commanders of Her Ma-

jesty's cruisers off the coast of Cuba, and of private individuals, tends to satisfy me that an entire change has come, during the last twelve months, over the traffic in slaves between the coast of Africa and this island.

Your lordship is aware that I have had the honour to report three cases of supposed landings since my assumption of the duties of this Consulate-General. The first was stated to have taken place near Matanzas, in April; the second near Cardenas, in May; and the third near Ensenada de los Cochinos, at the end of July. The result of the careful investigation which was instituted in each of these cases led to the conclusion either that the landings had been so skilfully conducted as to baffle all detection, or that they had never taken place at all. My own opinion is in favour of the latter alternative.

Whilst congratulating your lordship upon a condition of things so unusual and so satisfactory, it may not be out of place that I should offer a few remarks upon the causes which have probably contributed in a great degree to its existence.

They are two in number.

The first is, undoubtedly, the determination of the present Captain-General Dulce to suppress the traffic by all means at his command. In this course His Excellency is guided both by his instructions from his Government, and, as he always assures me, by his own views of the duties which Spain owes to humanity and to the stipulations of treaties.

This honest and straightforward conduct of the chief authority of Cuba naturally produces a great effect upon his subordinate officers. It increases the risk of detection, and diminishes the profits of a slaving expedition by raising the price of bribes, of places of refuge for newly-arrived negroes, and the general cost of these nefarious undertakings. It is therefore difficult to overestimate the value of such conduct as that of General Dulce, whose approaching departure from this Government I consider a subject of regret.

An opinion is also prevalent in this com-

nity with regard to General Dulce, that, in the matter of slave-trading, he would strain the law to the very uttermost in the pursuit of newly-landed expeditions, and that he might even be induced to assume some responsibility in adopting measures for their detection, which are, perhaps, not strictly contemplated by existing legislation. This impression, whether well-founded or not, has its weight in discouraging the evildoers.

The cause of the intermission of the slave-trade which I propose to advert to is, to my mind, a powerful one. I mean, the uncertainty which prevails as to the future condition of the coloured race in Cuba. The late important events in the United States, joined to the recent abandonment of Santo Domingo by the Spanish forces, have excited, not unnaturally, alarm and mistrust. Every one here professes to believe that the emancipation of the negroes is a question of time only, and there is, therefore, a disinclination to invest money in a property, the right to which may be questioned, more or less rudely, at no distant period.

There is, however, no doubt that labour is much needed in Cuba. To meet this want, numerous cargoes of coolies are arriving from China, as I have already had the honour to report to your lordship.

It is beyond my power to hold out hopes for the future, based upon the events of the past year. But it is at least a satisfaction to know that much human misery has been saved by the present state of the traffic.

If the government of Madrid will continue its present policy, and the future Captains-General of Cuba will carry it out as faithfully as General Dulce, the shameful traffic will be, at the least, conducted under difficulties which must act powerfully towards its ultimate repression.

I beg leave to inclose herewith to your lordship a statement of the slaves reported to have been landed and captured in Cuba from the 1st of October 1864 to the 30th of September 1865.

Inclosure in No. 18.

STATEMENT of the number of Slaves reported to have been landed and captured in Cuba from October 1st, 1864, to September 30th, 1865.

Date of Landing.	Where Landed or Captured.	Number of Slaves.		Vessel.	Remarks.
		Landed.	Captured.		
Sept. 19 and 20, 1865.	Pinar del Rio.	145	143	A small brigantine, name unknown.	Captured by Spanish authorities, on information procured by themselves.

BRAZIL.

The reports from the British Consuls in the various ports of the empire of Brazil, state that there have been no slaves landed in any of them. The traffic is entirely extinct, and there is no indication of a revival of it. This has been the case for fifteen years.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA.

HER MAJESTY'S ACTING JUDGE TO EARL RUSSELL.

Sierra Leone, Sept. 30th, 1865.

My Lord,—I have the honour to submit my report on the slave-trade for the year ending this day.

During that period no case has been brought before the British and Foreign Mixed Courts of

Justice established in this colony.

The total number of cases adjudicated, and the number of slaves emancipated and registered by the mixed courts, remain the same as reported last year.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court of this colony four cases have been adjudicated.

One brigantine, without nationality, seized and destroyed by fire on the 18th of November, 1864, by Commander Ruxton, of Her Majesty's ship *Pandora*, in the river Componee, northward of this colony, and condemned on the 26th of December 1864, under the Act 2 & 3 Vict. cap. 73. She was of 245 $\frac{9}{100}$ tons British measurement, by the certificate of the Collector of Customs, and had grounded on an island or rock in a creek of the river, and could not be got off. It was ascertained that sixty-seven slaves had been landed before seizure, and that other slaves were being collected in the neighbourhood.

The other three cases were canoes with slaves, taken in British waters, under warrants of depuration from Governor Blackall, and condemned under the Act 5 Geo. 4, cap. 113, and the slaves emancipated and registered.

The first, a canoe with fourteen slaves, seized by Thomas Pike, the harbour-master, off Kissy village, in the Sierra-Leone river, owners Belloh and Arroonah, and condemned on the 2nd October 1864.

The second, a canoe with four slaves, seized off said Kissy village by John Bucknor Elliot, the manager of the western district of the colony, owner and master unknown, and condemned on the same 22nd October 1864.

And the third, a canoe with five slaves, seized by the said J. B. Elliot, and condemned on the 16th June 1865.

As well as I have been able to ascertain, from information given to me by persons best able to advise me correctly, advantage has been taken by slave-dealers of the absence of cruisers from Sierra Leone and the slave districts adjoining, to collect and carry off slaves from the rivers of those districts, and I am afraid that there have been several successful embarkations, the brigantine without nationality, burnt by Commander Ruxton, of the *Pandora*, having been another but unsuccessful attempt.

I have no correct data to govern me in any report as to the coast to the south and elsewhere, but no doubt the commodores on the station will have given the necessary and correct information.

(Signed) HORATIO JAS. HUGGINS.

COMMODORE WILMOT TO THE SECRETARY TO THE
ADMIRALTY.

Rattlesnake, Sierra Leone, Dec. 19, 1865.
(Extract.)

A very short letter will suffice for my report on the state of the slave-trade for the present year.

Their lordships are already in possession of Commander Ruxton's report to me of the state of the slave-trade and legal trade in the Northern Division.

BIGHTS' DIVISION.

The slave-trade in this division, in consequence of the close blockade established and carried out, is virtually at an end. There has been no shipment of slaves from thence during the past year,

The use of the *Vindictive* at Jellah Coffee is forcibly illustrated by the following paragraphs from Commander Richards of the *Dart*, dated Lagos, July 26, 1865.

"The *Vindictive*, stationed at Jellah Coffee, besides her usefulness as a dépôt of coals and provisions for the squadron, is calculated, with the assistance of her boats, to guard the coast between her anchorage and Porto Seguro, thereby reducing the cruising ground one-fourth, and enabling the squadron to concentrate upon the more active slave-shipping stations in such a manner as to leave the steamers (which are the only vessels employed in the Bights' slave-trade) very little opening to effect their object. No attempt whatever has been made to effect a shipment during the period embraced in this report.

"The system of blockade by cruisers at anchor, generally within signal distance of each other, is the most effectual that can be adopted for the prevention of the traffic. But this successful result is obtained at a very great cost to the officers and crews employed upon this service, which is, beyond all question, the most wearisome, monotonous, and most thoroughly prostrating and dispiriting duty which the crews of Her Majesty's ships have to undergo in any port of the known world."

I need scarcely say to your lordships that I most thoroughly coincide in Commander Richards' opinion upon this subject, and I cannot but again place on record here my high admiration of the excellent qualities displayed by the commanders in particular, as well as those of the officers and crews of the squadron forming this portion of the station.

Commander Maitland, of the *Landrail*, says that "the slave-trade on this division of the station is virtually at an end, owing, I have no doubt, to the admirable arrangement in making the squadron a blockading one."

Commander Peile, of the *Espoir*, says, "the traffic in slaves has almost, if not entirely, ceased in this division."

Commander Jones, of the *Sparrow*, says "that no slave-trade has been carried on during the last six months on the stations I have been cruising off in the Bights."

It will be obvious to their lordships, that if the blockading force is kept up to the numbers I have hitherto been able to station there, the slave-trade will soon become a traditional story.

Commander Richards, of the *Dart*, the senior officer of this division for the greater part of the past year, is well entitled to the consideration of their lordships, for the zeal and energy displayed by him in the performance of his arduous duties.

Commander Richards reports that the palm-oil trade has been very brisk latterly, and there are, on the average, about fifteen vessels distributed along the line of slave-coast before mentioned, one-half of which are English, and the remainder French and Portuguese. He estimates the aggregate tonnage of those vessels at 3500.

The palm-nut kernel is becoming an article of export, as a purer kind of oil is extracted from it, but it has to be crushed by machinery. Several shiploads of this nut have been sent to France. There is a man at Lagos (Mr. Gill,

late engineer in our service) who has imported machinery for crushing the nut there.

The trade at Lagos has been very brisk latterly; and there was not in July of this year, as reported by Commissioner Richards, sufficient tonnage to carry away the oil.

The new senior officer of this division also reports that the trade in the oil rivers is now on so firm a basis that it has become as much an institution as the slave-trade (which it has entirely uprooted) was before.

SOUTH COAST.

Captain Marten, of the *Archer*, reports that the slave-trade on this division is at a standstill, but the Spanish and Portuguese Agents are still residing at the different factories along the coast, viz. Ambrizette, Mangua Grande, Moando, Llandano, Black Point, Loango, &c.

Commander Grubbe, of the *Jaseur*, reports that a small schooner, named *Impericimento*, built at Llandano, left that place in the early part of March last, with about fifty slaves on board, under the command of Lucas, a well-known Portuguese slave-dealer, captured by the *Arrogant* in 1859. This schooner was found to be so leaky after being twenty-four hours at sea that she was obliged to return to Llandano and land the slaves again. She has since changed owners, and went to St. Paul's de Loanda in ballast to obtain legal trading-papers.

The greater number of the heretofore slave-dealers are now engaged in a limited palm-oil trade, and are useful agents for the Dutch factory at Futila, which does a thriving business. A new factory has been established at Cabenda by the company of African merchants.

Acting-Commander Foote, of the *Speedwell*, reports that the slave-trade on this coast is very dull, in fact, dying out.

The dealers are unable to buy slaves, and just existing on the proceeds of a small trade in ground-nuts and palm-oil.

Only one shipment of slaves has taken place from this division during the past year, and this has been effected under the most remarkable circumstances. For three years past 600 slaves have been collected together for shipment at Mangua Grande, but in consequence of the vigilance of the squadron no opportunity has been given to the slave-dealer for carrying out his object.

In August last these slaves had become so terrible a burden to the dealer that he was forced to send them away at any price: he could not afford to keep them any longer; and it so happened that a brigantine appeared most opportunely off his place at the very moment that he was about to get rid of them. I have received information that this dealer told the master of the brigantine on board which they were shipped that they must go, and that he did not care if they were captured the following day.

I need scarcely say how sorry I am that, at the last moment, when success is all but complete, this vessel* should have evaded our cruisers, and escaped to tell the story of her success.

* The slaves were captured by the Spanish authorities on their being landed in Cuba.

Captain Marten reports that she must have passed very near the *Pioneer*.

The *Jaseur* and *Ranger* captured a Spanish brigantine, eighty days from Cadiz, on the 6th October, of Mangua Grande, in latitude 6° 33' south longitude, 12° 10' east, fully equipped for the slave-trade. The vessel was well found in every way, and the luggage of the master and mate had the Cadiz railway labels on it. She was taken without colours or papers, and has been sent to St. Helena for adjudication.

The Governor-General and Governors of the Portuguese possessions on the South Coast, are now, I firmly believe, most sincere in their wishes, as well as their efforts, to stop this traffic. The new Governor of Benguela does not follow in the footsteps of his predecessors. I cannot speak too highly of the friendliness of disposition evinced by these gentlemen towards the officers and others of our squadron.

LEGITIMATE TRADE.

The greatest inducement for a further development of legal trade on this part of the coast will be the extending of the African line of mail steamers (as proposed by me to their lordships two years ago) right down the coast to St. Paul's de Loando, which I have heard from the agents of the Company on this coast is likely to be carried out.

The late operations in the Congo have effected a material change for the better, and I am inclined to think that the Chiefs, who, until very lately, have existed by plunder and murder, will now turn their attention to the cultivation of palm oil and other things, as they have received a lesson not easily to be forgotten.

On all parts of the South Coast legal trade is increasing and extending its influence by degrees.

The squadron has been much reduced, and hence our success hazarded, by the necessary withdrawals of the *Dart*, *Zebra*, and *Archer*, without being relieved, while the *Pandora* and *Sparrow* have left the line of blockade in consequence of their turn arriving for recreation and refreshment at St. Helena.

To make the abolition of the slave-trade a certain thing, the number of cruisers should always be kept up to what may be considered advisable to accomplish this object, including those intended as reliefs when required.

I have already laid before their lordships my plan for doing this so that the blockade will never be interrupted—an outside vessel, always ready to drop into the line made vacant by a necessary change. The slave-dealers are aware of the slightest movement among the blockading vessels, and would take advantage of an opening if they had the opportunity of doing so.

Commander Peile reports that many of the villages in the Bights are incorrectly placed on the charts with regard to longitude. It would be well if this part of the coast was re-surveyed.

I have no further observations to make, except to congratulate their lordships and the country upon the success of our squadron for the first three years.

P.S.—I have since heard that the vessel which escaped from the South Coast in August last, with 600 slaves on board, was captured off Cuba at the end of September.

SOUTH COAST.

(Her Majesty's Commissioner to Earl Russell.)

Loando, October 7, 1865.

My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit, in obedience to your lordship's instructions, my Report on the state of the slave-trade during the year ending the 30th of last month.

(Signed) W. VREDENBURG.

REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER
30, 1865.

I have but little to report on the state of the slave-trade during the last twelve months. Heavy losses, the hostility and active opposition of the Captain-General of Cuba, and the want of funds consequent thereon, have prevented any extensive attempts at slave-trading. The most notable occurrence was the appearance on this part of the coast of the notorious slaving steamer *Ciceron*. A defect in the machinery of the steamer that was employed by the Portuguese government to bring out the mails, compelled her to go to Fernando Po for repairs: the consequence was the delay of a month in the receipt of the letters which contained the instructions and orders for the shipment, and the arrival of the *Ciceron* before her cargo was prepared for her. Though seen by more than one of Her Majesty's ships, they did not possess sufficient steam power to enable them to capture her. They succeeded, however, in driving her from the coast, and a boat containing the boatswain and four men was picked up by Her Majesty's ship *Griffon*. The former, being a Portuguese subject, was handed over to the authorities in this city, and he was a short time ago condemned by the "Tribunal de Prima Instancia" to two years' forced service on board a ship of the State. Against that sentence he has appealed to the "Tribunal de Relacio." The only successful shipment of slaves of which I have any knowledge took place about the 10th of August, in the neighbourhood of Mangua Grande: a Spanish vessel ran in during the night, and took off a number of slaves, amounting, it is said, to 500 or 600.

It had been long known to the captains of Her Majesty's ships that a considerable number of slaves were collected in that district. The place had been for many months most strictly guarded, and it is to me perfectly incomprehensible how an embarkation was effected, unless it took place during the shifting of stations consequent on the withdrawal of a vessel for the purpose of bringing down the mails from Fernando Po. I am not aware that any other slave ships have appeared on this part of the coast, and I have consequently no captures by any of the cruisers to report.

It is with much satisfaction that I am able to report, that since the departure in November of last year of Major Gaminho, the late Governor of Benguela, I have not heard, nor do I think that any embarkation of slaves has taken place in that district. I received a most favourable account of the character of the present Governor, Senhor Joao Antonio das Neves Fereira, when he received the appointment, and that character he appears to have merited. If the Governors of districts conscientiously determine to put an end to slave-trading, they have it in their power to do so, as no embarkation of slaves

can take place without their receiving previous notice of the intention, or the circumstance coming to their knowledge after the event has transpired.

It is with great regret that I have to report the formidable proportions that the trade in libertos to St. Thomé has assumed. No vessel leaves this port for that island without conveying ten of them; and the business is not confined to the mercantile class and the owners of vessels trading to that place, but ships have been purchased by persons in no way connected with trade, and are used specifically for that purpose. Slaves have still twelve years' forced service to perform unless previously freed: the libertos have to serve ten years. There is no other difference that I have been able to discover between the position of the liberto and that of the slave: they have to perform the same duties and are subject to the same authority. They are, moreover, forcibly taken from here against their wishes and consent, and are in every respect treated as slaves. A mere change of name cannot surely alter the character of the service, and the whole proceeding is simply the slave-trade under a very flimsy disguise. It would be certainly to be regretted that a valuable and fertile island should remain a wilderness and a waste in default of hands to cultivate it; but it appears to me that the colonists possess an easy method of obtaining the necessary amount of labour. There would be no objection, I imagine, to their offering their freedom to such slaves on the continent as would volunteer to go to the colony as free emigrants.

It is obvious, that as a preliminary step it would be necessary peremptorily to abolish Slavery in the island, otherwise the emigrants would be confounded with the slaves already there, and be inevitably reduced to a state of Slavery. No great sacrifice would be needed, as the number of slaves now there must be exceedingly limited. The negroes that were sent to the colony during the administration of this province by Senhor Calheiros, were designated "free blacks," and those that were sent during the administration of the present Governor-General, Senhor Jose Baptista d'Andrade, were called "libertos." There could be no pretence therefore for calling them slaves, and demanding compensation for them in that character, neither would it be to the interest of the colonists to prefer any such claim, if they obtained at a very moderate outlay as many hands as they could possibly require. Slaves (field hands) can now be purchased here for four or five pounds; and as it is perfectly understood that Slavery in the Portuguese possessions will very shortly come to an end, it is not probable that the price will be enhanced by the demand. It behoves the colonists to take immediate steps to obtain the labour they so much need: they can now do so, by offering their liberty to slaves on the condition of their emigrating. Should Slavery be abolished, they assuredly will not be able to compel them to emigrate as libertos, or under any other designation.

The Portuguese corvette *Sa de Bandeira*, the ship of Commander Joao Baptista Garcao, senior officer of the naval division, left this port for

Lisbon in the month of June, on being relieved by Commander Viegas d'O, in the corvette *Infante D. João*. Captain Viegas assured me, when I visited him on his arrival, that he considered the slave-trade, apart from its inhumanity, most injurious to the province, and assured me that he would spare no effort to put an end to it. He has, since his arrival, made a voyage to St. Thomé, but has not yet visited the coast to the southward.

It is now many months since a ship of war of either nation has been stationed there, a circumstance, in my opinion, much to be regretted.

(Signed) W. VREDENBURG.

EAST COAST OF APRICA.

HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS TO EARL RUSSELL.

(Extract) Cape Town, Sept. 30, 1865.

In compliance with your lordship's instructions, we have the honour to lay before your lordship our report upon the slave-trade on the coast of Africa during the past year.

The head-quarters of this station are now in India, and our opportunities of seeing gentlemen employed in Her Majesty's cruisers are consequently much diminished, which must be our apology if our report is less particular than we could wish.

From what we can gather, we regret to learn that there is no falling-off in the extent to which slaves are exported from the Portuguese possessions: we, however, have heard of but one vessel, the *Duque de Tetun*, as suspected of an intention to ship slaves for the West Indies. This vessel, whose movements, with those of the *America*, excited the suspicion of the authorities, and of Her Majesty's cruisers last year, was reported* as having escaped with a full cargo of negroes shipped near Inhambane; but she is now said to have arrived at Cadiz, with a legal cargo. How far this may be consistent with her having touched elsewhere and landed slaves, would be shewn by a comparison of the exact dates of her departure from the coast, and her arrival at Cadiz. But of these we are not in possession, further than that she sailed from Mozambique on the 22d of January last year.

The principal export of slaves from the Portuguese possessions continues to be for the supply of the Arab trade to the northward, and, to a lesser extent, to Madagascar, from the French possessions at Mayotta and Nos-beh; and the Governor-General of Mozambique laments that the very small force at his disposal prevents him from doing much to suppress the evil of the existence of which he is aware.

We learn that there is no diminution in the trade from the East Coast, north of Cape Delgado, and there seems to be no hope of checking it, unless by the presence of a much larger force of Her Majesty's ships, as long as slaves can be legally carried between places within the dominion of the Sultan of Zanzibar. His Highness is represented as co-operating cordially with the efforts of Her Majesty's cruisers; but the number of

slaves carried off from the coast far exceeds what is required for Zanzibar, and by far the greater portion, if not re-shipped at Zanzibar itself, find their way in small dhows to other ports, whence they are taken off to the Persian Gulf.

Nine dhows, captured by Her Majesty's cruisers during this year, have been condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Courts of this colony, two as prizes to Her Majesty's ship *Orestes*, and seven to Her Majesty's ship *Rapid*: 138 slaves were taken in these dhows, about 100 of whom were delivered over to the Civil Commissioner at Seychelles, and others were handed over to His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, from whose subjects they had been stolen. Other captures had been made, of the result of which we have no information, except in the case of a vessel taken by Her Majesty's ship *Wasp* with about 300 slaves on board, who were landed at Seychelles. This vessel, a dhow of 200 tons, took her slaves on board at the back of the island of Zanzibar, where she shipped a force of forty-six fighting-men, who engaged to protect the ship from Her Majesty's cruisers until she was well off on her voyage to the northward. As she was getting away she was detained by the pinnace and cutter of Her Majesty's ship *Wasp*, and taken, after a desperate resistance, in the course of which the coxswain of the pinnace was killed and several men were injured. Among the latter was Lieutenant Rising, who led the party, and who was wounded in the leg, back, and thigh. In many cases some slight attempt at resistance has been made by the Arab dhows, but this is the first instance, we believe, in which decided preparation has been made by the slave-traders to fight their way; and it is fortunate that, owing to the courage and determination of Lieutenant Rising and his eighteen men, this attempt was so signally defeated.

We do not observe that any allusion is made in the printed correspondence to the coolies, now imported into Cuba, but we think that they must be arriving in considerable numbers, as four vessels, conveying about 1200 coolies from China to Cuba, have touched here during the year. *

CAPTAIN GARDNER TO REAR-ADmirAL

SIR B. WALKER.

Orestes, at Sea, lat. $30^{\circ} 14' S.$, long. $32^{\circ} 32' E.$, March 24, 1865.

Sir—My last report on the slave-trade on the East Coast was made on December 31, to which I have now to add very little.

One capture of a dhow with slaves was made by the boats of this ship in the Bay of Kokotony, on the north of Zanzibar, on the ground that the Sultan has authorized Her Majesty's cruisers to capture vessels belonging to his subjects carrying slaves within his waters, between the 1st of January and the 1st of May; or, if they are unprovided with proper papers, upon condition that such vessels are given up to him for adjudication.

In this case I placed the dhow in the hands of Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, and accordingly gave her up to the Sultan, who, a few days later, caused her to be towed outside the *Orestes*

* No confirmation of this report has been received by Her Majesty's Government.

and destroyed by fire. The slaves were retained by the Sultan.

It is to be regretted that they could not be liberated, but the lesson will not be the less felt by the slave-dealers and dhow-owners.

Since my last report, the *Rapid* has been detached on other service, and has now left the coast for Bombay.

The *Wasp* and *Lyra* have been cruising to the southward since January, but I have no report of their proceedings.

I have reason to hope that no shipments of slaves in foreign vessels have been made from the East Coast during the last year: this opinion I heard expressed by certain merchants at Zanzibar, who are generally well acquainted with every thing that goes on along the coast, especially when money is brought in for the purchase of slaves, which they say always finds its way to Zanzibar; but I cannot but feel how inadequate are our means for stopping the slave-trade on so extensive a line of coast, should it be largely entered upon.

The demand for slaves in Arabia and Persia is very great, and prices high. Large numbers of slaves are collected, not only at Zanzibar but at many of the ports to the northward; but the number of Arab dhows that have come down this year is less than usual, a great many having been destroyed in the hurricane of last year. They have a very wholesome dread of our cruisers, and it is pretty well known that vessels will now be stationed off Guardafui.

I have reason to think that the slave-trade in dhows from the neighbourhood of Mozambique to the island of Madagascar has very much increased during the last year or two. This trade alone requires all the attention of the cruisers from the middle of April until December. It could not be maintained were it not for the false and mischievous claim set up by Portugal to the sovereignty of the line of coast (from Quillimane to Cape Delgado) of 600 miles, on which she does not possess any territory except the island of Mozambique. By her commercial restrictions she has stopped the trade of the whole coast, and left her own subjects and the native chiefs, who are really independent of her, nothing but the slave-trade, as no foreign vessels are allowed to trade with them. Many of these chiefs would willingly enter into treaty to abolish the slave-trade.

It is remarkable that all the northern slave-trade comes from the back of the Portuguese territory, finding its way to the sea through Quiloa. I am told that slaves are not exported from any place north of Quiloa.

There is reason to suppose that two or three small cargoes of slaves have been brought into Johanna. Mr. Sunley, the Consul, had heard a report of such being the case, but had not been able to obtain proofs.

Since my last report, I have heard that M. Lambert, of Madagascar notoriety, has established himself at the Island of Mayotte, and obtained a large concession of land: he will doubtless work his estate with *engagés* brought from the mainland.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ALAN GARDNER.

RESPECTING PORTUGUESE CRUISERS OFF MOZAMBIQUE.

(*The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Magenis.*)
Foreign Office, Nov. 25, 1865.

SIR,—I transmit to you herewith, for your information, an extract of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners at the Cape of Good Hope, relative to the export of slaves from the Portuguese possessions on the East Coast of Africa.

In calling the attention of the Portuguese Government to this matter, you will point out to them that it is useless to appoint officers who are anxious to carry out the engagements of the Portuguese Crown for the suppression of the slave-trade, unless the Portuguese Government afford them the means of fulfilling their duties, and you will at the same time express the hope of Her Majesty's Government that the Government of His Most Faithful Majesty will place the necessary force at the disposal of the Governor-General of Mozambique, to enable him to put a stop to the exportation of slaves from the Portuguese territories.

SUICIDE OF COLONEL HOBBS.

ONE of the most prominent of Mr. Eyre's subordinates in the late vindictive massacres of the coloured people in Jamaica, under the pretext of suppressing rebellion, has arrested legal judgment by committing suicide. We have no desire to dwell upon the acts which Colonel Hobbs perpetrated whilst invested with the terrible powers conferred upon him by the declaration of martial law, more than to say, they excited general indignation wherever the recital of them penetrated, and that he would undoubtedly have been cashiered had he retained his reason, and not taken his own life. The writer of this article was travelling, some five months since, with a brother officer of Colonel Hobbs', who had known him in India, and who asserted that if any thing in the inquiry before the Royal Commission should transpire, which was calculated to cast discredit upon him, he was not likely to outlive the imputation; in other words, that he would take his own life. It must be a consolation to all who have taken part in promoting the inquiry, that Colonel Hobbs was judged by himself. He furnished the evidence upon which his conduct was arraigned, and his worst enemy could scarcely have invented any thing more damaging to him either as a man or as a member of the military profession.

It would appear certain that his mind was most painfully disturbed by his examination before the Royal Commission; and we have it on what we regard as good authority, that he became subject to the most painful hallucinations. He would, we are informed, thrust away his afflicted wife, muttering such words as these, "Go

away! I don't want you near me. You are Paul Bogle's widow! Go away! go away!"

Much that is terrible to think of is conveyed in these awfully significant expressions.

The following account of the circumstances of his suicide appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of the 15th ult. :

THE STATE OF JAMAICA.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

SUICIDE OF COLONEL HOBBS.

"St. Thomas, April 28.

"I am writing on Saturday morning after a sea passage that would have been memorable for nothing but delight had not one distressing incident overthrown all the pleasures of brilliant skies, and tinted waves, and glorious island scenery. The illness of Colonel Hobbs, mentioned in my last letter, had passed from physical to mental disease, or had proved at the last to be what, from its origin, it might have appeared—a giving way of all the powers of brain, rather than of body, under the terrible and protracted trial he had endured. His frame, indeed, though wasted and bowed by suffering, was yet strong and active: so much so, that in paroxysms of his disorder the strength of four or five men had hardly served to keep him down on his bed. He was sitting quietly enough in his chair on the quarter-deck, attended by Dr. Grant, of the military staff, into whose care he had but recently been given. Brigadier-General Nelson, coming on board to bid farewell to several of his friends bound for England, saw and was recognised by poor Hobbs, and the two shook hands. Fearful of exciting the unfortunate officer, his companion in arms contrived to make the meeting as brief as kindness and soldierly sympathy would allow; and, before the deck was filled by continued arrivals of passengers and their friends, Colonel Hobbs retired to his cabin. When at sea his health improved. The unhappy, perhaps blameable, certainly brave and gentle officer, whom I have known and could not but esteem and pity, was on deck talking with some friend, when his eye met mine, and I heard my name uttered as poor Colonel Hobbs rose and advanced to meet me. We shook hands, and I said truly how glad I was to see him looking better, and able to walk on deck and take pleasure in so lovely a time and scene. He replied with few and melancholy, though calm words, that gave no indication of an impending fit of madness. Presently, seeing Mr. Roundell close by, he went to him and shook hands. I afterwards found that when that gentleman addressed the colonel in kind terms, telling him of a sincere

pleasure in being his *compagnon de voyage*, the poor invalid said, 'Ah! that is what you all say—what you all say;' and soon afterwards, when he came back to the spot where I stood, and I expressed a hope that the passage to England, so prosperously begun, would help to set him up again in health, he made a half-complaint that so many people were conspiring to 'chaff' him with pretence of sympathy. This little petulance was the sole sign of any diseased imagination which Colonel Hobbs disclosed to me at that, or indeed at any, period. Presently he spoke, with much more show of confidence, about the injuries he had received; and when he used the phrase, 'speaking to you as a dying man,' I attributed the expression naturally to his weak condition, and gave no thought to any suicidal purpose which might have led him to use such words. Mr. Payne passed near us, with some Jamaican curiosity in his hand—a humming-bird's nest on a little bough, as I remember—and we began talking about it, glad, as two of the three must have been, to create a healthy distraction in the morbid mind of the third. Lapsing into his gloomy mood, Colonel Hobbs now descended slowly the steps of the companion, and was followed by his medical attendant, Dr. Grant, whose vigilance, baffled though it was, cannot be impugned. The doctor saw his patient to his cabin on the main-deck, laid him quietly down on his couch, placed a sentry at the door, and came again on deck, believing that the colonel would fall into a sleep, to which his tranquil condition seemed disposed. In less than five minutes the cry was heard, 'Man overboard!' The paddles stopped, were reversed, and then stopped again. The chief officer was first in the boat that was to be lowered; and by his steady and collected behaviour encouraged the crew to prompt attention as well as willing activity. In the wide track of foam curling and creaming in our wake, the face turned towards us—not so near that its features could be recognised, not so distant that its black hair, large drooping whiskers and moustache, could be mistaken—was the head of Colonel Hobbs. He was swimming—swimming strongly; and he might, repenting his act, have kept himself afloat, for he was an excellent swimmer. But his first mad determination seemed to come again upon him with full strength, and suddenly he went down like a plummet. Nor was he seen again. Half an hour, or more, the boat pulled across and across the current which would drift him from the spot where he had disappeared, and would, one vainly strove to hope, show his body on the surface. Then, abandoning the fruitless attempt, our boat's crew returned

to the ship, which proceeded sadly on her way.

"Colonel Hobbs was only thirty-six years of age. He was remarkable for a naturally sanguine cheerfulness of disposition, which he blended with an habitual piety that almost took at times an austere form, though it never led him noticeably into such gloom as deepens into religious monomania. His insanity was, there can be no doubt or question, caused by the long-sustained excitement of what was virtually a trial, and a criminal trial; and, justly or otherwise, he fell a victim to the Jamaica inquiry. The manner of his death needs yet some few words of explanation. Suddenly springing from his bed, and rushing past his sentry, he was seized by the man, whom he quickly overpowered and flung back. He then leaped over the chain that guards the sponsails, and with one more bound was in the sea. Short of forcible restraint no precaution on the part of his attendants could have averted his fate. Although, on receiving charge of the patient, Dr. Grant had been told that he was not suicidally disposed, the assurance was one which this medical officer wisely resolved to make, if possible, doubly sure; and, finding that the opening of the port in Colonel Hobbs's cabin was large enough to admit the passage of a human body, he had it reduced to half the size the day before the ship sailed. Two servants had been appointed to attend and watch their colonel. They were men belonging to his regiment, the 6th; and there was certainly no appearance of their neglecting the duty imposed on them. One man was getting his dinner at the time of the colonel's too successful attempt on his own life. That humble soldier, I believe, has suffered as much sorrow as any man on board. As for the poor widow, her first inevitable bitterness of grief seemed, while yet it was a thing to come, too terrible for any of her friends to approach; and it was in vain that we sought among the lady passengers one with sufficient strength to undertake the task of breaking to her the overwhelming truth. Mr. Westmorland at length took the sad office on himself at the general desire. The boy, little Herbert Hobbs, had next to be told. His passionate grief drew tears from many eyes. One gentleman, almost a stranger to the lad, took his little hand, and said, 'I was your age, my boy, when my father died'; and, with touching simplicity, the child looked up and said, through his tears, 'I shall be nine years old to-morrow, Sir: oh, my papa! my dear papa!' A little girl, of singular beauty, and another boy, who is a mere infant, are the remaining children. No man or woman who reads this story will grudge, as an imperti-

nence or a falsely sentimental wish, the expression of a strong hope that the case of Colonel Hobbs will be leniently considered by the military authorities.

BRAZILIAN ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENTS.

In the May, 1865, Number of the *Reporter*, we adverted to certain motions connected with the abolition of Slavery in the Brazilian empire, which were then shortly to be submitted to the Legislature. The following is an extract from the last published Slave-trade Papers, shewing how these propositions fared:

(*Consul Hunt to Earl Russell.*)

(Extract.) Rio de Janeiro, May 24, 1865.

I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that a motion was made in the Senate on the 17th instant, by the Viscount de Jequitinhonha, for leave to present to the Chamber a Project of Law—first, fixing the term of ten years after which Slavery should be and remain abolished within the territories of the Empire; secondly, that immediate freedom should be granted to all slaves in the possession of the Government, on condition that they should take service in the army. The motion was unsupported, and was consequently lost.

On the same day a motion was made by Senator Silveira da Motta for leave to bring in a Project of Law prohibiting all foreigners from holding slaves within the Empire, and granting a term of two years, at the expiration of which all slaves so held should be declared free.

This motion was carried, and was ordered to be printed.

This project, should it pass into law, would affect almost exclusively the Portuguese, many of whom are considerable slave-holders. The Portuguese here are generally industrious, and succeed often in making money; they almost monopolise the lesser branches of trade. There is some prospect, therefore, that this project may pass into law.

CONSUMPTION OF FOREIGN SUGAR IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The *West Indian*, a Barbados newspaper, furnishes the subjoined statistics, with a view to shew the effect which the equalization of the sugar duties by the Act of 1846 has had upon the imports of foreign or slave-grown sugars.

In the years indicated below, the consumption of this class of sugar was as follows:

Years.	Cwts.	Tons.
1845	77,334	or 3866
1846	616,345	or 30,817
1847	990,814	or 49,540
1848	1,246,230	or 62,311

1849	1,511,755	or	75,587
1850	1,809,684	or	90,484
1851	1,681,195	or	81,597
1852	1,951,466	or	97,573
1853	1,735,792	or	86,789
1854	2,732,965	or	136,648
1855	2,599,331	or	129,966
1856	1,875,351	or	143,767
1857	2,913,723	or	145,686
1858	3,373,041	or	168,652
1859	3,754,460	or	187,723
1860	3,760,457	or	188,522
1861	3,790,776	or	189,538

Shewing within 16 years an increase of 1,085,772 tons, for home consumption only.

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We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the following subscriptions received since our last issue:

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